

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
THE FEDERAL CHANCELLOR

Bonn, October 4, 1961

Dear Mr. President:

I thank you cordially for your letter dated September 21st. I have been very pleased by your congratulations on the result of the Federal election and for your words of praise for my 12 years' work as Federal Chancellor. I am glad that we agree on what is most important for the Western world, namely to preserve its unity and resolution.

I want also to use this opportunity to thank you sincerely for your speech at the United Nations, and especially for your firm stand on Berlin. As Ambassador Grewe reported to me, you have been disappointed by certain first German press reactions. I have deplored this and I am happy that these voices remained sporadic; the German press and the German public have - as you will know - in their overwhelming majority positively reacted to your speech.

Utterances in the press, radio, and television will probably cause us some other trouble from time to time in the difficult months ahead; in this context I would like, dear Mr. President, to touch shortly upon the question of European security about which, unfortunately, the public is confused. The reason for

The President
The White House

this is that the notion of European security is unclear and that the word is used with different meanings. Moreover, even within the Western camp there are obvious and factual differences in the public discussion of this question.

The stand. the Federal Government since years has taken within the Alliance remains unchanged. To our mind zones of a special military status - no matter of what kind - in Europe would be disastrous, if not impossible. The Soviet Union will in substance remain what it is, even if now a certain degree of understanding will be reached. Already in the centuries of the Czars, at least since Peter the Great, Russia was aggressive and always intent on an increase of its territory, especially towards the West. Unfortunately, the history of Russia during the last centuries is widely unknown in the world. One has to know it in order to follow the right politics vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Communism has not smoothed Russian nationalism, it has strengthened it. Mr. Khrushchev too, in my opinion, is firstly a Russian nationalist and only secondly a Communist.

A special military status for any country of Western Europe, particularly the Federal Republic, will mean an open invitation to the Soviet Union to push further into Western Europe. Also for the United States such an advance would include great dangers, particularly in the field of world economics. For this reason such a special status is unacceptable to us. Such a

status would, amongst other things, lead to the dissolution of NATO and, in the course of a few years only, would subject all of Western Europe to the influence of the Soviet Union. The Communist Parties in France and Italy are the most thoroughly and resolutely organized ones and are directed by Moscow.

I am certain that we agree on these questions and I have communicated my thoughts to you only because I attribute an especially great importance to this matter.

Yours sincerely,

signed: Adenauer